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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

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October, 1957

COVER

Julia Grey, 18, of New York City, daughter of Attorney and Mrs. Maurice Grey, is a recent graduate of The Halstead School of Yonkers, New York, where she was valedictorian of her class and president of the whole school. Miss Grey entered Vassar College this fall .She has a deep interest in law.—Photo by Cecil Layne.

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DR. AMANDA HILYER, *retired pharmacist of Washington, D.C., is the first 1957 NAACP life member of the Washington branch. She presents her first installment check to Eugene Davidson, branch president, while life membership chairman Theodore Taylor looks on.*

■ The writer explains the strong and the weak points in a controversial book

Some Observations on the Negro Middle Class

By August Meier

IN his important and provocative essay, *Black Bourgeoisie**, E. Franklin Frazier has etched in acid his portrait of the American Negro middle class. According to Frazier, the Negro business, professional and white collar groups—the bourgeoisie or middle class—though the highest status group among American Negroes, occupy an anomalous and insecure position in American society.[1] Largely dependent for their income upon the patronage of lower class Negroes (though in recent years a significant number have been employed in white collar positions by "white" business firms), this tiny bourgeoisie lacks a firm foothold in the larger American economy, and is unable to match the large fortunes of wealthy white Americans. Yet the members of the black bourgeoisie look down upon the masses of the race and scorn their culture. Illustrative of their attempt to disassociate themselves from the majority of Negoes is their condescension toward the spirituals and toward the culture of Africa.

But they are rejected by the white middle class, and so they are, says Frazier, culturally rootless, and beset by feelings of inferiority, insecurity, and even hatred of the race and of themselves. While masking their real

*E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957).

AUGUST MEIER, *who now teaches history at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, has taught at Tougaloo College (1945-49) and Fisk University (1953-56). While at Fisk he served for a year as research assistant to the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson. He has also served as secretary (1951-57) of the Newark, New Jersey, branch of the NAACP. As a frequent* Crisis *contributor, Mr. Meier's most widely discussed article was "Booker T. Washington and the Rise of the NAACP"* (Crisis, *February, 1954).*

sentiments under talk of race pride, they actually disparage the physical and cultural characteristics of the majority of American Negroes. They complain of white discrimination and wish to be accepted by whites, yet ambivalently fear to enter into direct competition with them—even where fully qualified to do so—but prefer to enjoy their little monopolies and social life established behind the walls of segregation.

Instead of being realistic about its situation, the frustrated Negro bourgeoisie retreats into a "world of make-believe." It engages in extreme exaggeration about the success of Negro business, creating a myth about the extent of its enterprises, and the possibilities of business based on the Negro market. Moreover, it indulges in an elaborate social life, characterized by extreme manifestations of conspicuous consumption which hardly any of its members can afford. This "world of masks" is a compensation for inferiority feeling resulting from rejection by whites. At the same time the bourgeoisie fails, even disdains, to meet the intellectual standards and professional competence of members of the white middle class. Even the Negro colleges exhibit a woeful lack of intellectual interest. Faculty members are primarily interested in the position and income that make it possible for them to participate in the extravagant middle class social life, while the students are chiefly interested in the fraternities and view college education chiefly as a means of achieving middle class status. Members of the bourgeoisie, in fact, consider their fraternal and social life (especially poker) as more important than their work. Money, not real culture, or even respectability, is the key to success in this world of make-believe.

NAACP & URBAN LEAGUE

The NAACP and the Urban League reflect the outlook and aspirations of the middle class, which is actually not interested in the welfare of the masses of the race. The Negro press also, while it pretends to represent the aspirations of the race, actually exhibits the outlook of the bourgeoisie. It reflects the feelings of insecurity and inferiority among the black middle class by exaggerating Negro achievements, the importance of Negro "society" and incidents indicating white recognition of individual Negroes. Despite all this pretense, concludes Frazier, in reality the black bourgeoisie . . . seems to be in the process of becoming *Nobody*," since "when Negroes attain middle class status, their lives generally lose both content and significance."

It is true that the Black Bourgeoisie suffers from certain faults. For a judicious and scholarly approach that would carefully explore the wide range and variety of middle class activities and attitudes, Frazier has substituted highly critical and often sweeping, and therefore misleading, generalizations. Much of the historical discussion is of questionable validity. And most unfortunately Frazier has dealt with his subject as an isolated social phenomenon, even though he does recognize that the "behavior" of the black bourgeoisie "is a reflection of American modes of behavior and American values," and

that its distortions of American patterns of behavior and thought are due to the fact that the Negro lives on the margin of American society." If Frazier had discussed his subject from this frame of reference, he would have placed it in far better perspective and drawn a more meaningful and better balanced picture. Yet these criticisms should not lead one to underestimate the value and significance of Frazier's contribution. Above all he has had the courage to discuss important matters that very much deserve discussion.

Since Frazier has a deeper realization of the relevance of history to his field than have most sociologists, it is unfortunate that historians have failed to investigate materials pertinent to this study.[2] It is undoubtedly the lack of adequate historical foundation that has led Frazier to describe the black bourgeoisie as "a group which began to play an important role among American Negroes during the past two decades," and to minimize "the spirit of business enterprise" among the "Negro elite" prior to the Civil War. Actually the professional and entrepreneurial groups have played a leading role among Negroes throughout American history, and "the spirit" of business enterprise," absorbed as it was from the surrounding American culture in which the "gospel of wealth" played such an important role, owed nothing to the Freedmen's Bank to which Frazier attributes its emergence.

Frazier advances the thesis that occupational differentiation associated with the urbanization that followed the First World War resulted in the rise of a "new middle class" that replaced in importance and status an "old middle class." High social status in the pre-World War I period, according to Frazier, was based upon family background (including white ancestry), education, and conventional behavior, in contrast to the post-war and present emphasis on income and occupation. However, our research indicates that occupation and income were as important as the other criteria mentioned by Frazier for membership in the elite before the First World War.[3]

COMPOSITION OF ELITE

In the 1890's for example, the upper stratum of Negro society in the larger towns and cities consisted of some civil servants and politicians, a handful of professional people, and an *entrepreneurial* group that included independent artisans, barbers, blacksmiths, grocers, restaurateurs, caterers, draymen, hackmen, undertakers, and in some cases hotel owners, coal and brickyard owners, real estate dealers and contractors, as well as a scattering in other occupations. (The high social status earlier associated with some of the families engaged in domestic and personal service had pretty much disappeared by the twentieth century). This group was imbued with the "spirit of business enterprise," as its occupational distribution indicates.[4]

Nor does Frazier discuss one very significant development in the history of the Negro bourgeoisie. This was the shift, under way by 1900 and completed during the 1920's, of the economic base of Negro business from primary dependence upon white customers to primary dependence upon Negro customers.

This process was related to several developments: (1) the growing prejudice of whites, which made it less fashionable for them to deal with Negro businessmen; (2) the decline of certain types of small business in which Negroes played an important role (such as hacking, draying, catering, blacksmithing, due to changes in technology and business organization; (3) a growing spirit of racial self-help and racial solidarity in the face of increasing white hostility, a spirit that called for Negro support of Negro business in order to advance the race; and (4) the urbanization of Negroes, which by the end of the century had become significant enough to afford a profitable market that could be exploited by Negro entrepreneurs and professional men. Some business men (such as newspaper publishers, undertakers, many grocers) had always depended on Negroes for their support; but banks, insurance companies and numerous small enterprises serving the Negro community rapidly increased in number beginning about 1890, and especially after 1900. A few of the older elite, men like barbers John Merrick of Durham and A. F. Herndon of Atlanta, successfully moved into the newer businesses, in their case insurance; descendants of some of the older economic and social elite served Negroes as professional men; certain members of the older elite families managed to retain their status by judicious marriages with successful conductors of the newer enterprises; elsewhere the older aristocracy has decayed and been bypassed by the newer business and professional men who now compose the elite group.

It was the newer entrepreneurial group (which gradually came to dominance roughly during the generation after 1900), that was responsible for much of what Frazier has described as the "Myth of Negro Business"— the myth that by patronizing Negro business, Negroes could build up great enterprises. Curiously enough, though Frazier quite correctly ascribes much of the force behind this ideology to the propaganda of the National Negro Business League, founded by Booker T. Washington in 1900, he somehow does not relate the phenomenal development of the League in the first years of the century to the changing class structure.

ERRORS OF FACT

Frazier, in addition, has errors of fact and interpretation, of which we can give only a sampling. The Garvey Movement is called "the only serious Negro nationalist movement to arise in the United States," although certainly the nationalistic emigrationist movement in the 1850's was exceedingly important.[5] According to Frazier, Atlanta and Fisk universities, which were founded by the American Missionary Association with the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau, were founded by the Bureau alone. He calls "Paul Lawrence [*sic*] Dunbar the first Negro poet to treat with humor and sympathetic understanding the Negro rural folk," though Dunbar wrote in the stereotyped plantation tradition which pictured Negroes as happy under slavery. On page 40 Frazier states that the United Order of True Reformers was founded in 1887; on page 91 he gives the date as 1867.

The correct date is 1881. Frazier states that there were only seven Negro banks in existence in 1905. Actually there were about thirty.

Frazier perpetuates Horace Mann Bond's error (stated in the latter's *Negro Education in Alabama*) to the effect that the Slater Fund became interested in industrial education due to the influence of Booker T. Washinton, when actually it was the Slater Fund that was the chief agent responsible for creating, during the 1880's, the vogue for industrial education which in turn provided the basis for Washington's fame and ascendance.[6] To state: "As the black bourgeoisie has grown in importance in the Negro community during the past two decades, the Negro press has focused attention upon activities of the Negro in business and his achievements in acquiring wealth" gives a false impression, because there is less emphasis on these matters in the Negro press today than their was thirty or sixty years ago.

Again, the ideology of Negro support of Negro business (or the creation of what DuBois and others called a "group economy") as a solution for the economic problems facing Negroes was not "formulated . . . during the last decade of the nineteenth cntury," as Frazier says it was, but enjoyed a considerable vogue during the 1850's when it was espoused by Frederick Douglass and other eminent leaders, and had been becoming increasingly popular during the 1880's. And Frazier's further assertion that this "myth" was "created by a small group of Negro intellectuals and Negro leaders who accepted racial separation as the inevitable solution of the race problem," overlooks the fact that this ideology was regarded by its supporters as a temporary device to build Negroes economically to the point where they would be integrated into the larger American economy.

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Frazier is undoubtedly at his best in his sociological analysis. Here, in the writer's estimation, Frazier's discussion, though at times exaggerated, is perceptive and, in places, brilliant. That large segments of the Negro bourgeoisie have as their chief interest a social life characterized by extreme standards of conspicuous consumption, and a highly competitive struggle for status within Negro "society," would appear to be undeniable. Too often, as Frazier points out, Negroes manifest interest in interracial social action organizations only when it becomes a socially satisfying activity. Thus in some cities liberal leaders plead that they can not obtain Negro participation, while in other places, where socially prominent whites are active participants in liberal movements, it is said that the Negro members seem chiefly concerned with the social prestige which they feel accrue to their belonging to these organizations.

Other observers have noted the lack of intellectual interest characteristic of Negro institutions of higher learning, the tremendous interest in the Ph.D. as a prestige symbol rather than as proof of scholarly achievement, and the precedence social life takes over learning. There are, of course, a handful who resist this tendency, and they are significant, but usually those who fail to compromise with the dominant trend feel

isolated. As Frazier suggests, the average Negro professor has more in common with prejudiced middle class whites than with the liberal white professors on the campus. To idealistic white liberals, in fact, whose interest in race relations is closely related to their dislike of empty social striving and unjust social distinctions and discriminations, and who tend to be interested in intellectual matters, Frazier's description appears to be, by and large, sound, and his criticisms justified.

SOCIAL STATUS

Yet, given the nature of Negro-white relations in the United States it is only natural that the Negro elite would tend to imitate, even as Frazier implies, caricature the behavior of far wealthier upper class whites in order to build up its own self-esteem. In many ways, in fact, as Gunnar Myrdal has suggested, middle-class Negroes are exaggerated middle-class Americans. Frazier condemns the lack of intellectual atmosphere in the Negro colleges, even those that pride themselves upon their intellectual traditions; but most American colleges lack such an atmosphere, and are primarily engaged, as are the Negro colleges, in preparing their students socially and occupationally for participation in American middle class life. Frazier, with considerable justice, criticizes the black bourgeoisie for being indifferent and even hostile to the interests of the Negro masses, but he seems to expect too much of human nature, for the white bourgeoisie has the same attitude toward the white masses.

Often, in fact, Frazier's criticisms are as applicable to whites as to Negroes, as in his statement that "The activities of 'society' are not simply a form of social life engaged in for pleasure. . . . The are engaged in primarily in order to maintain status or as a part of the competition for status." It is true, as Frazier says, that the emphasis on status symbols and the competition for social status represents an effort to overcome an inferiority complex. But this sort of thing is as true of whites as it is of Negroes, the only difference being that race discrimination serves to heighten feelings of inferiority and therefore increases the felt need for status symbols that enhance one's self-esteem. Unfortunately Frazier has not attempted a careful comparison of the striving for social status among middle-class whites and middle-class Negroes, a comparison that would place his statements in a much-needed perspective.

His ignoring of the impact of the attitudes and patterns of life of the white middle class on the Negro middle class is particularly evident in his ascribing the rising number of divorces, scandals, etc., among the new Negro middle class to the fact that this new middle class "is recruited" from the lower classes, without noting the increase in divorces among whites and the scandals reported in the daily press about Hollywood celebrities and white "society" as a likely factor.

EXAGGERATED STATEMENTS

Frazier makes exaggerated statements and cites atypical instances in a way that suggests that they are

representative. He criticizes the Negro bourgeoisie for being "insulted if they are identified with Africans," and for refusing "to join organizations that are interested in Africa." While there is undoubtedly some ambivalence in regard to this matter, it would appear that if the bourgeoisie despised Africa its current interest in Ghana, for example, would be puzzling. In criticizing Negro business he underestimates the prejudice exhibited by white banks as a factor in their failure to extend loans to colored entrepreneurs. In attacking the myths widely held in regard to Negro business enterprise, he does not, unfortunately, inform us that there are at least a few (such as the eminent businessman who frankly described the largest Negro businesses to me as "so-called large business") who do have a realistic view of the subject.

MIDDLE CLASS CONCERNS

In his criticism of the Negro press, the NAACP, and the Urban League, for reflecting the concerns of the middle class rather than advancing the interests of the race as a whole, he undoubtedly underestimates their constructive influences. In fact, he scarcely mentions the protest activities of the Negro press, which he says "provides a romantic escape for Negro city-dwellers." And it certainly would take more than Frazier's mere assertion to prove a relationship between the middle class's alienation from the religion of the masses and an alleged worship of chance and fortune as exhibited in the emphasis on poker in society's "world of masks."

On the other hand, Frazier throws out a number of highly suggestive generalizations that should make provocative subjects for further research. We can point out only a few here. To what extent, for example, has the outlook of Negro intellectuals been dominated by the ideas of wealthy philanthropists, whom Frazier pictures as wielding enormous influence? To what extent has the bourgeoisie's one-tracked interest in "society" led "gifted Negroes" to abandon "altogether their artistic and scientific aspirations?" Naturally, a few individuals have resisted this pressure, and it would be interesting to analyze the sources of their alienation from middle-class culture. In this connection Frazier suggests that the writers of the Harlem Renaissance, with their interest in the Negro folk and in Africa, were in fact alienated from the middle class, a thesis independently advanced and explored in some detail by a recent doctoral dissertation at Yale.[7]

The role of the middle class in the NAACP needs study and elucidation. Frazier, like other writers on the subject, does not discuss the trade union, nor the socialistic leanings of many of the leaders in the early years of the NAACP. It is also generally assumed that it is the Negro intellectuals who have dominated the affairs of the NAACP, though Frazier believes that the NAACP reflects the aspirations of an unintellectual, not to say anti-intellectual, bourgeoisie. These questions take on added pertinence in view of the fact that the middle class leadership of many NAACP branches does not consist of the highest social status individ-

uals in their communities, and even more in view of the fact that in some branches leadership is now passing from the middle to the working classes, a fact related to the increasingly mass base of NAACP membership.

AUTHORITARIANISM OF LEADERS

This last statement suggests that the middle class may be losing one bastion of its power in the Negro community, a power which Frazier believes centers in its control of the churches, fraternities, and uplift organizations. In this connection Frazier advances the thesis that some members of the Negro bourgeoisie obtain escape from their frustrations and inferiority complex by "delusions of power" growing out of posts they hold in the white community (even where such posts are merely a "token" integration and carry little weight), and out of "the position of power which they occupy in the Negro world," a position which "often enables them to act autocratically towards other Negroes, especially when they have the support of the white community." Many examples of this sort of thing can be cited, though in accounting for the authoritarianism of Negro leaders in certain types of situations, one should not overlook the fact that the institutional structure of the Negro community, and its relation to the white community, make the exercise of such power easier than in the larger American society. This, naturally, is a situation that ambitious men, no matter what sort of frustrations they may or may not have, would take advantage of.

From the point of view of theoretical orientation, however, perhaps Frazier's most significant contribution lies in his underlying hypothesis that in their behavior the Negro masses and the Negro bourgeoisie each represent a distinct subculture in American society. The culture of the masses, writes Frazier, is in the tradition of the peasant, modified in recent years by the impact of urbanization; while middle class Negro culture is today a modified derivative of the culture of the antebellum southern gentleman, which the free Negroes imitated (a thesis that, we feel, certainly is oversimplified). On the one hand Frazier implies that the Negro bourgeoisie has basically not had much of a business tradition, but, like the gentleman, has been more interested in spending money than in accumulating it.

On the other hand, he asserts that the middle class has been alienated from the folk traditions of the Negro masses. It is this alienation, coupled with rejection on the part of upper class whites with which the Negro elite wishes to identify, that has, according to Frazier, given to the black bourgeoisie a feeling of self-hatred and an inferiority complex which it attempts to escape by a flight into the illusions of its isolated, competitive, social world. To this writer it would appear to be more fruitful to employ the concept of ambivalence toward both races (as Frazier himself occasionally does) rather than to speak of self-hatred and a wish to be white. Yet there does seem to be considerable heuristic merit in Frazier's analysis, however overstated it may be, and how-

ever much it ignores the striving for status to overcome inferiority feelings that characterizes so much of humanity.

Frazier's thesis also implicitly involves acceptance of the work of the personality-and-culture school of anthropology, and the thesis that race prejudice and discrimination have a baneful effect on the personality of middle class Negroes, which in turn is reflected in what Frazier obviously regards as the pathological aspects of their culture. Unfortunately, while this hypothesis seems quite plausible, little work has been done to prove it, and Frazier's uncritical use, in this connection, of Kardiner's *Mark of Oppression*, with its grave methodological shortcomings, is unfortunate. It should be noted, however, that some support is lent to this line of reasoning by the material summarized in the brief on school desegregation submitted to the Supreme Court by the NAACP, in which the NAACP pointed out the harmful effects segregation has on the self-esteem of Negro youth.[8] Nevertheless, here is an underlying theoretical framework that, though undoubtedly over-simplified, would undoubtedly have significant and fruitful results if tested by further extensive research and modified and refined where necessary.

Finally, as we have insisted all along, in spite of our criticisms, *Black Bourgeoisie* must be treated as an important and valuable discussion. Despite its errors and its hyperbole, it says many many things that need saying. And it will have served a useful purpose if it stimulates further research on the questions it raises, and if it creates a spirit of detached analysis about itself on the part of the Black Bourgeoisie.

REFERENCES

1. Frazier uses the phrase "middle class", as originally employed by European social scientists, to describe the urban professional, business and white collar people as differentiated from the titled landed aristocracy. This is in accordance with the usage accepted by sociologists like David Riesman and C. Wright Mills. On the other hand, Frazier's middle class includes what are members of both the middle and upper status groups among Negro Americans. Frazier apparently lumps them together as an upper status group or elite, rather than describing the gradations within the group discussed.
2. The following critique of the historical aspects of the *Black Bourgeoisie* is based primarily upon relevant material in August Meier's "Negro Racial Thought in the Age of Booker T. Washington, Circa 1880 to 1915," especially Chap. xi, "The Development of Negro Business and the Rise of a Negro Middle Class." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1957. Also examine subsequent research in the history of the Negro upper class in Atlanta, Georgia.
3. Frazier in fact is somewhat contradictory on this point, but does indicate that "the members of the [old] upper class depended on a number of skilled occupations for a living, though there was a sprinkling of teachers, doctors, educated ministers and small businessmen among them."
4. In this connection it should be pointed out that Frazier, though

(*Continued on page* 517)

Layne's Studio

MRS. DAISY HICKS *(right), founder and chairman of the Committee for United Negro Relief, turns over to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, 116 NAACP memberships, for a total of $308.50, solicited by the committee. Mrs. Lillian Nekritz, far left, and Mrs. Estelle Sealy, members of the committee, look on. The committee was organized to raise funds to aid victims of economic pressures because of their stand for civil rights.*

Mrs. Annette Brown and Mrs. Colleen Strickland of Caliente Starlets Club of Kansas City, Missouri, present $100 check to Judge Carl Johnson, local branch president, as initial payment on NAACP life membership. This brings to ten the number of life memberships in the Kansas City branch.

Branch officers and the membership committee of the Winter Haven, Florida, branch shown at a recent rally during their membership drive.

Louie Bowden, chairman membership committee Grand Rapids, Michigan, branch receives first installment on NAACP life membership from Marcellus Rawlins (center), first life member in local branch. Rev. W. L. Patterson of the True Light Baptist church smiles approval.

James T. Hewlett (center) presents $500 check for NAACP life membership to Kenneth Guscott (right) of the Boston, Massachusetts, branch. Frank W. Morris, Jr., vice-president of the Boston branch stands at left.

FRIENDS *of John W. Lancaster of the Bridgeport-Stratford, Connecticut, branch present him with an NAACP life membership for his twenty-five years of service to the branch and community. Mrs. Frances Johnson is presenting the NAACP life membership plaque.*

■ New York City's social action church knows neither sect, class, nation, nor race

The Community Church of New York City

By Alfred K. Allan

THE shadows of New York's gangling skyscrapers wash over the squat red-brick building at Number 40 East 35th Street. We stop at this simply-constructed but imposing edifice and we know it is a church, the Community Church by name, yet it is like no other church we have ever seen. Our eyes are caught by words, bronze upon the red-brick, emblazoned on the front wall of the building. "Knowing not sect, class, nation or race," the inscription declares," welcomes each to the service of all."

We pass through the varnished entrance doors to the snug waiting room. The pastel walls are adorned with portraits of Gandhi and Moses. We stroll deeper into the church, through winding brick passageways, divided by small offices and meeting rooms, until we arrive at the comfortably compact office of Donald Harrington, the minister of the Community Church. A sidewall is lined with shelves displaying thick scholarly volumes. Hanging beside the bookcase, overlooking the neatly-kept desk, is a plaque bust of the great humanitarian Albert Schweitzer. At the center of the front wall, facing the desk, is a tall, clay-like painting of a symbolic, aspiring "Working Man."

"Here at the Community Church we regard religion as a universal, human experience," Mr. Harrington affirms. Donald Harrington is a gaunt, youthful-looking forty-two. Reared in the Massachusetts "Cradle of Liberty," his ministry bounds beyond the church to the chairmanships of the Workers Defense League and the American Committee on Africa and to the presidency of the United World Federalists. Though he is outspoken and often fighting mad, he speaks softly, deliberately, and with

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ALFRED K. ALLAN, *who is well acquainted with the activities of the Community Church, lives in New York City.*

intense conviction.

"Our church is a friendly group of people learning how to live, with all that that implies," Mr. Harrington explains. "Here people can come and feel themselves growing intellectually, morally, spiritually; here they can be free to be themselves, and learn how to love their fellowman for what they are and yet can be; where they can discover a religion which is pertinent, intelligent and *free*."

It began in the mind and heart of John Haynes Holmes, who arrived in New York in the early 1900's to become a minister of the Unitarian Church. Gradually he was to evolve this church into a more rational and all-embracing faith, the religion of community. "I would have the community church the model of my ideal society," he had passionately proposed. "I would see all sorts and conditions of men within its walls in relation one with another of respect and reverence, and I would have courtesy and forbearance the habit of its members."

That gloomy night in 1917 when the United States began registration for war-time conscription, a sweating, flushed, 38-year-old John Haynes Holmes rose, tall and restless, before his congregation to cry out for peace. When, despite all, war did come, John Holmes continued to fight for world conciliation.

SUPPORTS FREE SPEECH

He was a moving force in the National Civil Liberties Bureau, which rallied to the defense of free speech and civil rights for conscientious objectors and other unpopular minorities. And from his pulpit the voice of the American Gandhi still thundered. "I will not use this pulpit," declared Dr. Holmes, "to preach hatred, or to stir up violence and vengeance or to encourage cruelty, but will pray unceasingly for understanding, compassion, good-will, and world-wide brotherhood."

In 1919 he left the Unitarian Church to found the first Community Church of New York, an "Open Door" church, welcoming Christian and Jew, Hindu and Moslem, Buddhist and Confucioanist, theist, and agnostic.

John Holmes did much more: he was one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP, and the impact and influence of his books and lectures on the community idea are felt in just about every part of the world.

In 1949, Dr. Holmes, at 70, white-haired, still "God's Angry Man," turned over the ministry of his church to his very capable, young junior colleague, Donald Harrington, who now leads this historic search for a world-commmunity.

Here members pay no dues, instead they contribute what they can, if they can. A member who contributes a dollar is treated exactly the same as one who offers $25,000. About one-fourth of the members are Negroes and approximately 25 per cent of the membership encompasses interfaith and interracial married couples. It is a fully-integrated church —Negroes are in the chorus, in all the church organizations and committees, and on all of the church's official governing bodies.

Each Sunday morning the members unite in worship in the church's plain and unassuming auditorium. The comfortable benches look toward

a bare stage, unadorned by crosses or any other symbols of a particular religion. In this open atmosphere people can fuse their faiths and worship as one. Often a rabbi, a priest, or a minister will address this unique congregation.

A FREE PULPIT

"This is a free pulpit," Mr. Harrington explains pridefully. "The guest speaker may say whatever he chooses to say. The members are then challenged and encouraged to think for themselves. We believe that there is no perfect institution on earth, and salvation is something which must be won through one's own life experience. Liberal religion cannot give a person a ready-made philosophy of life, a perfect creed, guaranteed to be the ultimate truth. We do not believe that one becomes acceptable to God through confession of faith in any creed, however sublime. It is ultimately in our deeds rather than our creeds that we demonstrate our sin or our salvation."

Here there are discussion groups and lectures, wide open to the public, delving into the political, economic and religious problems of the world and carrying forward the community idea. Here there is also a Sunday School, for youngsters from two-and-one-half to fifteen, where, "the aim is not to give pat answers to a child's questions and thus shut the doors of his mind and heart. Here we can ask any question. We will not be shocked but will answer honestly or search with him for the answer."

The church is also combating what it considers antiquated funeral services. "Services should be simpler, more dignified and less expensive," church officials declare. "Cremation is preferable to burial and any service prior to cremation or burial should be private. The showing of the corpse, which necessitates embalming and the use of costly caskets, should be avoided, and there should be no sending of floral pieces. Sympathy might better be expressed by a gift to a fund or cause in which the deceased had an active interest."

If one wished to sum up the community church idea in two words the best ones would be "social action." The church's Social Action Committee, begun in 1935 with a handful, now has forty-one members—men and women of all ages, races and religious ideas. As one member of the committee testifies, "We're not working for a 'cause'. Rather, we're working together toward something we believe should be changed."

POLICE BRUTALITY

Early in 1952, New Yorkers were stunned by increasing police brutality toward minority groups. The city was shocked at reports of unwarranted police beatings and coercion. From his pulpit, Reverend Harrington spoke an angry protest:

I have been profoundly shocked by the immoral practices revealed concerning the denial of fundamental rights to American citizens by the inhuman action and conduct allegedly committed by police officers and allegedly condoned by our highest police officials.

There is mounting tension between law enforcement officers and the community at large. This antagonism results from the over-aggressiveness of

police officers in the execution of their duties. The citizen who meets up with the law under present circumstances, feels that he is without proper redress so far as the police administration is concerned.

The city was stirred by Reverend Harrington's cry for justice. The Social Action Committee joined with some eighteen other civil-rights organizations, which combined to form the Coordinating Committee on Police Practices.

The campaign began with a huge rally at the Community Church. The speakers and the discussions afterwards pointed up the grave problems facing the city and indicated that the police department as such was not being attacked, only the elements within the department who were not living up to the American principle of equal justice for all.

The committee members presented their grievances and suggestions for improvements to the police commissioner. A vigorous clean-up within the department was begun. The most significant outgrowth of this citizens' campaign was the instituting by the New York Police Department of a special training course in human relations, now given to each new policeman, to better instill in the police officer a sense of fairness and humility toward the people he serves.

RESTAURANTS INVESTIGATED

In 1950 the Social Action Committee linked up with some twenty-three civic betterment groups to investigate discrimination in New York's restaurants. Volunteers emerged from each of the groups—housewives, students, veterans, socialites, and business men. They chose the east side of Manhattan, which stretches from 34th to 59th Streets, and which symbolically holds the glass-home of the United Nations. One hundred and fifty volunteers were divided into couples and then dispatched to a goodly sampling of those restaurants in the neighborhood which served meals priced at $4 or less.

First a Negro couple entered the restaurant. A few minutes later a control team of two whites sauntered in. Both couples ordered the regular meal, behaved well and made mental notes of the way they were treated. After paying their checks, the teams scurried back to survey headquarters to set down their experiences.

The survey lasted several days, then came the shocking results: In 42 per cent of the restaurants checked, the Negro couples were treated rudely. They were forced to wait for a table out of turn, or were hustled off to a dark, uncomfortable corner of the room. Others were deliberately served slowly or rushed through the meal with unseemly haste. Still others were spoken to disrespectfully. The higher-priced restaurants were especially discourteous to colored patrons.

The committee pressed for remedial action. Reports of the survey results were immediately mailed to the unions and trade associations in the restaurant field. Then conferences were held with these groups to thrash out the discrimination problem. The unions and employers cooperated fully. Resolutions condemning unequal treatment of patrons were passed. The volunteers then approached the owners of the restaurants in the area surveyed and more then one-third of them signed the

pledge of fair-practices which the committee had prepared.

In 1952 a retest was launched, covering those restaurants which had been found to be discriminatory. In four out of ten places the biased practices had disappeared. Committee members spoke further with those owners who still adamantly clung to their biased policies. Some offered flimsy excuses for their practices, others spoke rudely to the committee volunteers.

COMMUNITY HOUSING

The incidence of discrimination had by now dropped drastically from 42 per cent to 16 per cent, not a complete victory, but certainly a reassuring sign that social action was turning the tables on restaurant discrimination in New York City.

These are just a few examples of the social action the church and Reverend Harrington carry on.

Recently they began to formulate plans for a community housing project right in the heart of New York. This would be a low-rent, cooperative development open for occupancy by any one. He hopes that the project's tenants will be representative of the diverse races and religious faiths that comprise the Community Church itself. It will be a kind of minature United Nations to prove that different people can live by the community idea.

"You might say that ours is a truly liberal religion," Reverend Harrington concludes. "The religious liberal believes in man, in his capacity for goodness as fully equal if not superior to his capacity for evil, in his power to continue to master the problems which confront him, bring order out of chaos, justice out of wickedness, harmony out of conflict and war. Religious liberals do not underestimate the evil of which he is capable, but see him increasingly learning how to face and understand it, and to transform evil into good. We believe in the slow but steady rise of mankind towards the high destiny to which his nature and nature's God are calling him."

"We may dare to hope," explains Rev. Harrington, "that we are just one tiny part of the beginning of the Church Universal, as inclusive as humanity, as dynamic as the ever-changing face of truth, as universal as nature and its processes and as inspiring as the Eternal Love which lies behind all things."

Mrs. T. C. Williams presents NAACP life membership check on behalf of the Zeta Upsilon Omega chapter of the AKA sorority to T. A. Dunn, president of the Saint Petersburg, Florida, branch.

Wills Ellen Studios

LEANDER FULLER, *president of Club Tusculum, Camden, New Jersey, presents a $600 check to Robert Hazelwood (left), vice-president of the Camden branch, as a contribution to the NAACP freedom fund.*

■ Historical notes on the origin and meaning of calypso

Calypso and Calypsonians

By Harcourt Thorne

CALYPSO music with its tantalizing rhythm and catchy airs threatened for a while to replace rock 'n roll in popularity. Music lovers all over the nation, from Maine to Miami, from Hollywood to New York, were thumping their feet or humming to the tune of Harry Belafonte's "Banana Boat," or Lord Melody's "Mama Look Ah Bu-Bu Dey." However, despite the fact that calypso music hit dazzling heights in the American music world, and captivated so many 'teen age hearts, few people really know its source. Nobody ever took time off to ask two pertinent questions: Where did it originate? What does it mean?

It is an indisputable fact that calypsoes originated in the British Caribbean area. Before its recent vogue in America the calypso had been linked exclusively with the West Indian island of Trinidad, which had rightfully earned the sobriquet of "Land of Calypso."

But during the calypso craze in the United States, the origin of the calypso suddenly changed: other West Indian isles, principally Jamaica, and even the American Virgin Islands, claimed to be the mother of calypsoes. Records show, however, that calypso music was born in Trinidad circa 1797 on the sugar plantations where Negro slaves toiled with the original inhabitants, the Carib Indians. Despite the hybrid nature of the population, French cultural patterns dominated rural life in Trinidad, and the first calypsoes were sung in a hybrid language which was predominantly French.

Negro slaves gave birth to the first calypso songs. At nights after a full day's work in fierce tropical sunshine, the slaves gathered in groups outside their crude tapir huts and chanted songs to the tune of their drums. These were songs of raillery and

HARCOURT THORNE *is a Trinidadian journalist now residing in the United States.*

CALYPSO SINGERS *rehearsing in one of their tents (from L): Lord "Rum and Coca Cola," Invader, wearing wide brim hat; Lord Cristo, the Mighty Panther, Lord Intruder, the Growling Tiger (black hat), and the Tiny Terror. They are surrounded by their musicians.*

praise, dubbed by the Carib Indians "carieto" or songs of joy. But the African slaves called their ditties *calypsoes,* derived from an African word meaning "brave."

ENFORCED LABOR

The slaves sang calypsoes to ease the pangs of enforced labor, to give themselves courage to fight the fires in the cane fields, and to encourage stick fighting, a popular but bloody sport among the slaves. The Caribs sang calypsoes to heal the sick, to seduce the girls, or to embolden the warrior. First of the recognized Carib Calypsonians was a stately and tall six-footer by the name of Dioarima, succeeded by Surisima, who was perhaps the most renowned of the early Carib calypsonians. So clever a calypsonian was Surisima that the idle rich of those times paid him fabulous sums to sing in their homes. Surisima devoted his songs to topical events, or to a recounting of old Carib tales.

There is one recorded event that links Surisima with the United States of America. In 1859, one William Moore, an American ornithologist, visited Trinidad. He was soon listening to calypsoes. Moore delivered a lecture on birds soon after, in which he refers to calypso, claiming that it was the local version of the American and English ballad. News of Moore's belief reached Surisima, who was so incensed that he marched on Moore's hotel with his followers at his heels. Surisima then proceeded to lampoon Mr. Moore with all the calypso venom at his command. Part of his lampoon went this way:

Surisima: Moore you liar from America.

Crowd: Tell we wha you know about we calypso.

Surisima: Moore the Monkey from America.

Crowd: Tell we let we beat you for so.

It was only the timely intervention of the police that saved Moore from physical injury as the fury of the crowd mounted with Surisima's singing.

During those early days when calypsoes were the craze of the population of Trinidad, it was the custom of slave owners and wealthy people to have calypsonians entertain their guests. On such occasions the calypsonians rendered ditties that were flattering to their listeners or embarrassing and damaging to unpopular members of the community. Then as now the calypsonians indulged in an exchange of insults, each in his turn proclaiming in no uncertain fashion the shortcomings of the other. This is still a favorite form of calypso entertainment among the calypso singers of Trinidad. It is called *picong*, or war, by present-day calypsonians. In the early days to be "Master of Calypso," or a "Maître Casio," was to have a semi-official appointment, and the first man to receive this honor was a Negro calypsonian called Gros Jean, which is French patois for "Fat John."

GROS JEAN

Gros Jean was owned by Pierre Begorrat, a powerful plantation owner who had come to Trinidad in 1784 from the neighboring French island of Martinique. Begorrat was a cruel and unscrupulous slave owner with a very violent temper, and it is said that whenever he became violent only the calypso singing of Gros Jean could cool him down. Begorrat and Gros Jean became friendly, but the friendship proved fatal to the calypso-singing slave when, in a fit of jealously, one of Begorrat's many wives poisoned Gros Jean. Then the post of *Maître Caiso* fell to Soso, who at the time of Fat John's death was in prison awaiting execution. Begorrat, on one of his infrequent visits to the prison, became so enthralled with Soso's singing that he immediately pardoned him and elevated him to the post of "Chantwell," as the "Maître Caiso" were often called. Soso met violent death at the hands of one of Begorrat's enemies who had tried to get him to compose a calypso against his master.

With the exception of Surisima, the Carib Indian, the famous calypso singers of the 19th century were all Negroes: Papa Cochon, Danois, Possum, and Thunderstone.

Two outstanding exceptions were Hannibal, a mulatto, and Cedric Le Blanc, who was the only white calypsonian to attain fame. Hannibal was a half-caste dandy who used his calypsoes to ridicule Negroes. Here is one of his favorite chants: "Black and black make pure devil. Black and white make half-angel."

"I a'int black, I a'int white.
If it comes to blows or fight,
I'll kill the black to save the white."

The great white chantwell, Cedric Le Blanc, was invited in 1860 to entertain a party at Government House, Port-of-Spain, the residence of the colonial governor. This so infuriated the Negro calypsonian, Possum, that he tried to gain entry to the party, but the Negro guards refused to admit him. Furious, Possum stood a little way off and sang loudly in French patois:

"White man don't laugh at white man (Repeat)
But old Nigger ugly and bad
All the world, all the world don't like him
Cedric Le Blanc is my master
Only through his color."

GREAT CALYPSONIANS

As the years rolled by the names adopted by calypso singers became more and more "highfalutin": Growling Tiger, Lord Melody, Lord Kitchener, Attila the Hun, Mighty Spoiler, Dictator, Lord Cristo, Mighty Panther, et al. Greatest of the modern Trinidadian calypsonians called himself Lord Executor. He was a Trinidad-born Portuguese noted for the polysyllabic words he used in his compositions. He died in 1953 after being a first-rate calypsonian for fifty years.

Calypso music is as popular as it ever was in Trinidad today, where it has come to be regarded as an integral part of the Colony's culture. Calypso singers can be heard at any time in Trinidad. But their season really extends from the opening of each year to the day before the start of the two-day carnival celebrations preceding Ash Wednesday. During this period the calypsonians sing in "tents," of which there are always three in the capital city of Port-of-Spain, and visitors from all parts of the world come to Trinidad for this annual calypso fiesta.

Most of the calypsoes are commentaries on interesting local topics although happenings in larger countries do not escape the scrutiny of the calypso artists. For example, in 1954, the Growling Tiger sang a number entitled, "I like Ike-an Ode to Eisenhower," the opening verse of which begins:

"The American General Election
Made the critics eat their opinion, (repeat)
Governor Stevenson was the song,
But the Democrats, for once they were wrong;
The people of America, they knew better
And they voted Eisenhower, the man of the hour."

The closing verse:

"Eisenhower is great, you must appreciate,
The 34th President of the United States
With a 200-year-old Bible took his oath in June,
As George Washington did in 1789.
So let us hope and pray to the Almighty,
That he may reign in peace and tranquility,
And to Ike we wish him health and prosperity,
And to America that guides the world's destiny."

Among present-day calypsonians of Trinidad, Lord Melody is one of the greatest. His calypsoes are ingenious and witty, and for sheer originality Lord Melody has no peer in calypso singing. His composition, "Mama, Look a Bu-Bu Dey," which he composed on himself, became a popular hit both in America and in England.

Trinidad has scores of outstanding calypsonians, but among the best-known ones are Lord Kitchener, regarded by many Trinidadians as number one in the art of calypso singing; Attila the Hun, (the name

(*Continued on page* 517)

Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander

MRS. Ernest R. Alexander (Lillian Anderson Alexander), a member of the board of directors of the NAACP and treasurer of The Crisis Publishing Company, died Friday, September 13, 1957, at Tuxedo (New York) Memorial Hospital. Her age was 81. Mrs. Alexander's New York City home is at 234 West 139th Street.

Mrs. Alexander, wife of Dr. Ernest R. Alexander, dermatologist, to whom she was married on June 10, 1918, was born in Yellow Springs, Ohio, on May 2, 1876, the daughter f Sanford and Polly Anne Anderson. She received her high school education in Springfield, Ohio, and after teaching for a while at Shelbyville, Tennessee, attended the University of Minnesota, where she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.

Mrs. Alexander came to New York in 1917 as an assistant to the late Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League. During the first World War, her duties in connection with the war-time employment of the first large migration of southern Negroes to Northern industrial centers kept her in contact and conference with federal officials in Washington.

Mrs. Alexander became a leader in community activities, serving as an officer on the committees and boards of numerous organizations.

MRS. LILLIAN ALEXANDER

May 2, 1876 — September 13, 1957

She was a member of the Committee of Management of the West 137

Street Branch of the YWCA for thirty-five years, and served many years as a member of the board of directors of the YWCA of the City of New York. She also served on the National Services Committee and the Library and Public Affairs Division of the National Board of the YWCA.

She was a long-time member (since 1924) of the national board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and one of the Association's earliest life members; a charter and life member of the National Association of College Women; she served as a member of the Commission on Urban Colored Population appointed by Governor Herbert H. Lehman in 1937; also as a member of the board of governors of the Warwick State Training School for Boys, and as a member of the Board of Management of the Columbus Hill Day Nursery.

Mrs. Alexander was founder and secretary of Club Caroline, a pioneer Harlem cooperative housing project for working girls sponsored by the Association for the Proper Housing of Girls; member of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; and treasurer of The Crisis, official magazine of the NAACP. She was a member of the National Housing Conference.

In addition to Dr. Alexander, survivors include two brothers, Henry Anderson, Springfield, Ohio, and Charles Anderson, South Bend, Indiana; three nephews, Harry Basey, Los Angeles, California, Harry Warren, Springfield, Ohio, and Maurice Anderson, Chicago, Illinois; two nieces, Mrs. Clara White and Mrs. Thelma Fox, and a grandniece, Mrs. Dorothy Bason, all of Springfield, Ohio.

Funeral services for Mrs. Alexander were held Wednesday, September 18, at the Abyssinian Baptist church, New York City. Her body was cremated at Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale, New York.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias (L), NAACP board chairman, presents NAACP life membership plaque to Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the AME church in Florida.

Layne's Studio

United Press

NEGRO JUDGE SWORN IN AT HARTFORD—*Attorney Boce Barlow (left) is sworn in as the first Negro judge in Connecticut history in a ceremony at the Hartford police court. Lawyer Vincent Dennis is administering the oath.*

United Press

IVAN C. McLEOD, *formerly deputy assistant general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, is now director of the NLRB's regional New York office. He succeeded Charles T. Douds, who was named director of a new regional office established in Newark, New Jersey, on September 1.*

United Press Photo

AT *the end of an historic beginning, Bobby Lynn Cain, the first Negro to be graduated from the Clinton, Tennessee, high school, shows his mortarboard to sister Diane. The youth entered the previously all-white school last year, protected by bayonet-wielding National Guardsmen called out to end violence when the Supreme Court ruling ending school segregation was put into effect in the town. Although angry crowds protested then, there were no demonstrations to mar the ceremony as Cain received his diploma with the rest of his white classmates.*

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Analysis of H. R. 6127, as Passed by Congress

By J. Francis Pohlhaus, Washington NAACP Bureau Counsel

PART I

THIS part establishes a six-member, bi-partisan Commission on Civil Rights to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Procedural rules are established for the operation of the Commission. The Commission is authorized:

1. To investigate written allegations under oath of deprivations of voting rights because of race, color, religion, or national origin.
2. To study and collect information on legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws.
3. To appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws.

The Commission shall report to the President and Congress. Its final reports shall be submitted not later than two years from the date of passage of the Act. It shall cease to exist sixty days thereafter.

The Commission will have a full time staff director, appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate.

It will not be allowed to accept volunteer or uncompensated help.

The Commission will have the right to issue subpoenas for the attendance of witnesses, but such subpoenas shall not require the witness to attend a hearing outside the state where the subpoena is served.

PART II

THIS part provides for an additional Assistant Attorney General. Although not required by the bill, the Attorney General has promised to assign him a new Civil Rights Division.

PART III

THIS repeals 42 U.S.C. 1993, which authorizes the use of military forces to enforce civil rights statutes.

Under other existing laws, however, the President has the power to use troops if necessary to enforce the laws. He is authorized to call on the U.S. Armed Forces or to federalize the national guard if it is impractical to enforce the laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings (10 U.S.C. 332) or if the execution of the laws is so hindered as to deny Constitutional rights and state authorities fail or refuse to protect such rights (10 U.S.C. 333).

Under 42 U.S.C. 1985, it appears that it will now be possible to get injunctions to prevent intereference with court orders by outside persons, provided the court orders relate to a matter involving equal protection of the laws, such as school segregation. Also, it would seem that officials who are seeking to grant such rights could get protection in the performance of their duties.

As it now is written, 42 U.S.C. 1985 provides only for damages in these situations.

PART IV

UNDER this part of the bill, the Attorney General is authorized to bring an action for preventive relief (injunction) to prevent: (1) the denial of the right to vote in any election because of race or color. (2) intimidation or coercion interfering with the right to vote in an election involving candidates for federal office.

This action can be instituted without the necessity of exhausting state legal or administrative remedies.

This means that the Attorney General would not be required to go into state court or appeal through state administrative agencies, but could apply directly to a federal court for the injunction.

Anyone charged with contempt under this part shall have counsel assigned by the court if he cannot secure counsel.

PART V

THIS part regulates cases of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of the bill.

It limits the punishment in such cases, if the defendant is a natural person, to $1,000.00 fine or six months imprisonment.

It grants the judge the right, in his discretion, to order a jury trial.

If such a case is tried without a jury and a fine in excess of $300.00 or imprisonment in excess of forty-five days is imposed, the accused has the right to demand a new trial before a jury.

It is specifically provided that the civil contempt power of the courts shall not be affected by this bill. Accordingly, the courts can force compliance to their decrees by fines or imprisonment without the limitations provided under criminal contempt and without a jury trial.

This part also amends federal law relating to jury selection by repealing that section of existing law which makes ineligible for jury duty anyone ineligible under state law.

Hartford Times

REV. SIMON P. MONTGOMERY *(left), pastor of the Old Mystic, Connecticut, Methodist church, has been elected chaplain of the Connecticut House of Representatives to succeed Rev. Harold G. King (right) of the First Congregational church of Farmington.*

Looking and Listening . . .

POLITICS

POLITICAL analyst Samuel Lubell, after describing the "Racial War in the South" (*Commentary*, August, 1957) cautions Negro leaders that an increase in Negro voting will not of itself "make race-baiting too dangerous politically." He then explains why he does not believe suffrage a cure-all for the South's racial ills:

Currently, the Negro leaders and so-called 'liberal' elements are placing extravagant hopes on the prospect of an increase in Negro voting in the South. A rapid rise in this vote, so the argument runs, will make race-baiting too dangerous politically. But the harsh fact is that in the thirteen years since the white primary was opened and Southern Negroes began to vote in sizable numbers, liberalism in the South has lost strength steadily and is all but a corpse today.

The belief that became widespread during the Senate debate on civil rights —that possession of the right to vote would open the way to the Negro's gaining his other legitimate rights—is not supported by American history. Voting alone has never made for political power. The rise of other minority elements in the country shows that political effectiveness is a reflection of all the elements of power a group can command, from the education and the leisure to undertake political activity to the economic base necessary to provide funds for candidates of one's own choosing.

If Southern Negroes attempt to break the segregation structure through use of the ballot, the likelihood is that they will sharpen the lines of racial conflict: they will find themselves standing alone politically, without allies among any group of white Southerners. The civil rights bill, for all the importance attached to it, does not even touch the heart of the race problem—how to overcome the tragic fact that we remain two separate nations on this issue.

What has happened in this country since 1954 indicates that the race issue is not a problem of progress but of national moral character. It is not a question of waiting until the 'proper' social and economic conditions are brought into existence. It is a problem of whether we will do what we know to be the right thing to do.

Repeatedly in our history the racial issue has arisen to test our national character. If today, in a nuclear age, we remain two nations on this problem, it is largely because in the past we met the issue in much the same way—by waiting for the 'right conditions' and the 'right time' before acting. The right time for a moral decision is always present. No more than riches make for virtue in the individual, does progress make for character in nations.

LACK OF COMMUNICATION

FATHER JOHN LAFARGE, S.J., a founder of the Catholic In-

Part of the milling crowd of students, sightseers, and the press who waited in September for development in the federal-state-city integration fight which was waged at Little Rock's (Arkansas) Central High School.

Colored students George Nelson and Leslie Hamm (center) leave the Stratford Junior High School in Arlington, Virginia, after being turned away by school authorities.

Alfred Verbecken (L) of the Pennsylvania State Police and Chief John Stewart of the Bristol, Pa., police keep guard over the home of William Myers, his wife Daisey and their three children, the first Negroes to move into previously all-white Levittown, Pa.

United Press

terracial Council of New York, said recently that lack of communication between Negroes and whites is "the most tragic element" in the whole problem of race relations. Sitting around a table and saying "we love you" does not solve the problem, he explained, "but becoming involved in a common task does help to transcend differences."

Father LaFarge is convinced that "the segregation system is doomed," but that "it is taking a long time to die." Meanwhile, he says, violent resistance to the change "makes the death agony worse and has created in very many Negroes a great deal of stored up resentment and a mood of despair."

The big problem, says the Jesuit scholar, and one to which the Catholic Interracial Council has given much of its attention, is that of housing.

Father LaFarge traced the usual steps of this problem: a Negro family, educated and refined, desires to move out of the Negro ghetto into a decent neighborhood; white residents of the neighborhood are panicked into selling, and unscrupulous real estate agents exploit the panic.

"We feel that this is the most crucial problem of all," the priest asserted.

Another major problem is world opinion, he continued. "Repercussions of what happens in the U.S. are felt throughout the world, and they are extremely important."

To contribute a balanced view of United States race relations to other nations, the interracial council has launched an "Asia-Africa Project." This feature service, he explained, supplies news stories and photographs of events marking progress in the field of race relations to about 90 "key centers" on the two continents, including local news services and mission headquarters.

In the secular press in the U.S. Father LaFarge finds "a lot of good will" concerning the race question, but "not too much interest."

Many newspapers, he believes, have been influenced by the fallacious slogan about a "middle course between extremists."

"Extremists on one side of the question are violent racists," he remarked, "but who are the extremists on the other side? There is a remarkable lack of extremism among the Negroes in this country."

Even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has led the fight against segregation, he said, "advocates legal means."

Despite all the difficulties involved in promoting justice and charity in race relations, Father LaFarge remains optimistic. "I'm absolutely certain of victory," he remarked. "It's a winning cause."

Nevertheless, there are serious delays which will cause much harm, he believes. "Neglect of simple remedies now," he warned, "means that we are piling up for ourselves immense tasks that will take years to work out later."

SOUTHERN FARM LABOR

DR. LEWIS W. JONES, director of research for the Rural Life Council at Tuskegee Institute, Ala-

United Press

SCHOOL DILEMMA—*Youths taunt Dorothy Geraldine Counts, 15, as she walks to enroll at the previously all-white Harding High School in Charlotte, North Carolina. Leaving the school she was pelted with trash, small sticks and pebbles. It was reported in September that Miss Counts had withdrawn from Harding because of insults and threats of bodily injury.*

bama, gave some interesting facts about the economic status of southern farm labor before the subcommittee on labor standards of the House Committee on Education and Labor (June 19, 1957). Fifty percent of the hired workers in American agriculture, he said, are employed on southern farms. Only 19 percent of them are classified as "regular workers"; that is, those empolyed 150 days or more. The other 81 percent are seasonal workers, those employed less than 150 days.

What were these workers paid? Forty-five percent of the monthly workers were paid less than $110 a month; 53 percent of the weekly workers, less than $30 a week; 60 percent of the daily workers, less than $5 a day; and 83 percent of the hourly workers, less than 85 cents an hour. In Macon county, Alabama, the county in which Tuskegee Institute is located, tractor drivers (the new worker elite) were paid $5 a day or 62½ cents an hour. Cotton choppers were paid $2 and $2.50 a day or 25 and 31 cents an hour.

NIGERIAN FILM INDUSTRY

HY HOLLINGER (*Variety*, June 12, 1957) says that an offshoot of nationalism in Africa is the desire to develop a local film industry. East Nigeria has completed plans which it hopes will make Enugu, its capital, the "Hollywood of West Africa."

These are the plans, according to Mr. Hollinger:

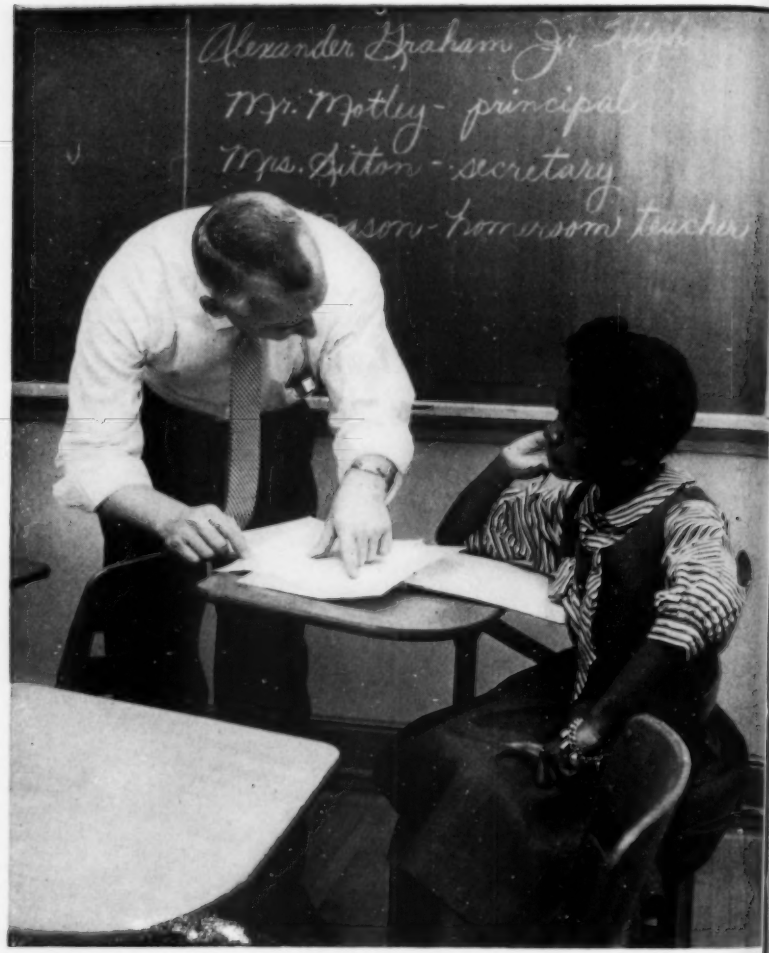
Through the Cinema Corp. of Nigeria, a government-owned company, a sum of $24,000,000 has been earmarked for the construction of studio facilities on a 23-acre plot of land in Enugu. In addition, the complete blueprint for the studio has been delivered by Los Angeles architect Richard Neutra and actual construction is expected to begin in January.

A report on Nigeria's aspirations in the motion picture field was given by Lloyd Young, an American writer-producer who is acting as technical adviser and agent on film matters for the Nigerian government. Young is seeking film technicians who are willing to go to Nigeria on a three-year contract. His search also involves the finding of screenwriters and directors willing to go to Africa under the same terms. In addition to aiding in organizing a local film production program, the American creative talent and technicians will, of necessity, have to serve as instructors to train local citizens in the mysteries of film-making.

As part of Nigeria's long-range program to establish a film industry for West Africa, the government plans to send students to the University of California to study film production. According to Young, the Nigerian film business will probably employ American Negro actors for its initial productions but it hopes eventually to train African talent.

Young admits that the Nigerian government realizes that the task will be a formidable one, since it will have to organize a film industry from scratch. He, however, points to the amazing progress made in India which, according to Young, became a leading film production country in a period of a little over 15 years.

The initial production plans of Nigeria will be modest—involving at the start the production of perhaps one feature picture annually and a number of documentaries and shorts. The features, Young said, will have to be geared for realistic entertainment if the local industry 'wants to reach an audience.'



DOLORES HUNTLEY *of Charlotte, North Carolina, in conference with her homeroom teacher at the Alexander Graham school. Twelve-year-old Miss Graham was transferred from the all-Negro York Road Junior High School.*

According to Young, there is a potential audience of some 20,000,000 in West Africa where, he said, the level of education is "pretty high." He added that in perhaps five years, the West Africa-produced films can reach audiences in the rest of Africa and Asia. Eventually, he envisions the films reaching a world-wide market.

Young revealed that there are approximately 80 theatres in Nigeria and the Cinema Corp., which is also a distribution and exhibition organization, plans to build 40 more. In addition to the regular theatres, there are vast audiences (about 60,000 a month on a paid basis) that views films via mobile units sent out to the less developed areas.

* * *

"WEST INDIAN INFLUX"

AIDAN CRAWLEY writes on "The West Indian Influx" in the London *The Sunday Times*. British reaction to this influx has been mixed: some Britons have welcomed them, some are indifferent, and a few, hostile.

Here are some informative passages from Mr. Crawley's series:

What is the case for altering our immigration laws and controlling the number of British Commonwealth citizens who come to this country? In a sentence, the danger of creating a color problem in Britain.

It is difficult always to be honest with oneself, but if most of us were asked whether we wished to see a large colored community established in these islands, our first instinct would surely be to say "No." Some of us would base our answer on experience. People who have lived among colored immigrants in our cities have often been offended by their habits. But for the great majority the reason would be an undefined but none the less definite feeling about color.

In order to keep a sense of proportion it is perhaps worth reminding ourselves that this feeling is not confined to the white races. Both the Arabs and the Indians suffer from an acute sense of color. A fair skin is the envy of all, a black one often a sign of inferiority. I have often been struck, when remarking to Indians on the beauty of some Indian woman, to receive the reply, 'Oh but her skin is black.'

* * *

Since the colored population of Great Britain began to grow there have been innumerable instances of behaviour on the part of British citizens which must bring a glow to the heart of Dr. Verwoerd. Churchgoers who have found colored people sitting next to them in their pew have got up and moved to another part of the aisle. One woman sent an invitation to the University authorities for foreign students to visit her home, but added that she did not want colored students as she did not believe that Our Lord would approve of them.

Of course, for every such case of extreme prejudice there are examples of the opposite kind. There is a story, which is vouched for by a witness, of a client at the bar of an inn objecting to a colored man being served; whereupon a Welshman who was standing next to him asserted that the colored man had just as much of a right to a drink as anyone else, and, after a fight, threw the first man out. Tributes to the cheerfulness and politeness of colored people both in factories and as conductors in buses have been paid in many letters to the local press of the cities where they work. Nevertheless it is an inescapable fact that every colored person in this country meets prejudice at some time, and for many it has already made it difficult to find accommodation or even a job.

How, then, are the West Indians really getting on here? Has prejudice made life unbearable for them? Will the experience of those who are already here deter others from coming? I believe it will not. The truth is that the vast majority of the 80,000-odd West Indians now in England are fitting into the life of the country far better than might be imagined.

It would be absurd to pretend that life is easy for them. When they arrive they always experience difficulty in getting lodgings. Thousands of them are living in slum conditions. I have been to houses in three different cities and found between twenty and twenty-five people living in eight rooms. Even when there is no more than one family to a room, the overcrowding is appalling and the squalor, particularly in some of the basements, really distressing. The local authorities have power to prevent such overcrowding on the grounds of health, but if they do they themselves become responsible for finding somewhere for the people to live, and in most cases they have nothing to offer.

On the other hand, for most families, these conditions do not last for more than six months to a year. More and more colored people, particularly Indians and Pakistanis, are buying property and providing accommodations for colored tenants. Most of the houses which they buy are due for demolition within a few years, and are in bad condition. But they are cheap and may well see the immigrant through his stay.

* * *

West Indians claim that for the most part they are doing jobs in this country that the British people no longer want to do. This is very largely true. Colored women are only too glad to work in hospitals or institutions and are very welcome there. In factories West Indian women have tended to be slow, and sometimes their own pride has made them throw up a job; but where the employer has had patience and the West Indian has persevered, she has often made good. An increasing number of colored women are going into the garment-making industry and the quality of their sewing is high.

The majority of the men are unskilled and fill jobs in foundries, transport, cement works, building, or wherever straightforward manual labor is required. I have also seen colored men in garages, cafes and shops, and the variety of jobs which they are filling must by now be very large. . . .

A small but increasing proportion of the immigrants are skilled electricians, fitters, carpenters, die-casters or painters. Even so they sometimes find it difficult to hold a job down because our speed of work is faster than that to which they are accustomed, and the job itself may be different. On the other hand, there are instances of colored people becoming foremen and gang leaders, and supervising white workmen. . . .

* * *

The more one studies the problem the more one is forced to the conclusion that the agitation which has arisen over colonial immigrants is really due to their color. Now there is nothing new about color prejudice in Britain. Anyone who has been connected with the Colonial Office knows that it has always existed; and organizations like the British Council and the universities have been doing their best to mitigate it for years. But until recently it has arisen only in connection with students and few people outside academic or government circles have been aware of it. . . .

* * *

And of course it is right that controversy should rage. The principle of

(*Continued on page* 517)

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Annual west coast regional leadership training conference was held September 20-22 at Asilomar.

Attorney Terry Francois, a member of the legal redress committee of the SAN FRANCISCO branch, has been nominated by Mayor George Christopher to serve a two-year term on San Francisco's new Fair Employment Practices Commission. Attorney Francois, the only Negro, is one of seven men named by the mayor, and he is also one of the authors of the FEPC ordinances.

The commission will receive, investigate, and adjust complaints of racial or religious discrimination in hiring, firing, upgrading, and union membership. It will also foster an educational program to combat economic discrimination. Uncorrected violations of this ordinance are enforceable in the courts.

Illinois: The extent and effects of segregation and discrimination in the public schools of Chicago were revealed and studied at a workshop conference of the CHICAGO branch held on August 24 at the Washington Park YMCA.

CLUB TEA—*The Erie Hi-Lite Club of Erie, Pa., gives a tea for the NAACP fighting fund for freedom. Pictured (from L) are Irma James, guest pianist; Virginia Franklin, Maizie Purdue, Bernice Akins, Rev. J. D. Myers, branch president; Eunice Byrd, club president; Nina Davis and James Justice, soloist.*

Geo. A. Horsey, Jr.

CHIEF COUNSEL *Thurgood Marshall receives a check of $1,000 for the NAACP's legal defense fund from the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge Prince Hall Masons of New York State. Arthur T. Giddings, Sr. (L), of Yonkers, New York, past Grand Master of the Order, makes the presentation at the Masonic convention held in Elmira, New York, in June.*

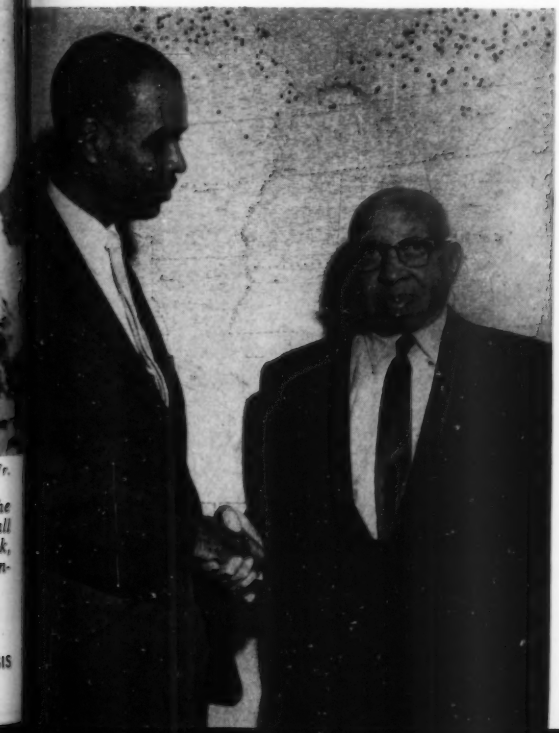
Charles Armstrong, Kenneth Wilson, James Carter, Cecil Partee, Willis Thomas, James Kemp, and Attorney Gloria Wilson, and Julius Love have taken out NAACP life memberships. A. L. Foster, James Shelton, Sr., Marguerite Ivy, Dr. David Johnson, and Attorney Loring Moore have pledged to pay NAACP life memberships.

Indiana: The youth council of the INDIANAPOLIS branch reports the following officers: Thomas Cole, president; Robert Short, vice-president; Jerry Davis, Crisis chairman; and Alma Exton, membership chairman.

New Jersey: The CRANFORD branch honored June graduates of the local high school with achievement tokens, which were presented by Dr. Charles Lomax of Garwood. The largest award of $25 went to Beverly Tyree for scholarship and leadership; Anne Hill, Brenda Mayer, Gwendlyn Laurel, Shirley Baldwin, and Clifford Jackson were given $5 each. Leroy Scurry was the guest speaker.

Oregon: Members of two NAACP branches have recently organized their own credit unions in Portland. The new credit unions, formed to provide credit facilities to the more than 1,000 members of the two branches and their families, are the PORTLAND NAACP Federal Credit Union and the PAL-STAN Credit Union sponsored by the Palo Alto branch.

Pennsylvania: West coast regional director Franklin H. Williams was guest



Michigan C. Brown (R) of New York City, who recently became a life member of the NAACP, is congratulated by the Association's executive secretary Roy Wilkins. Mr. Brown was for many years a sergeant-at-arms of the New York City Council, a position from which he retired in 1952.

Layne's Studio

JACKIE ROBINSON *crowning Mrs. L. L. Graham of Burlington, North Carolina, as winner of the "NAACP Mother of the Year" contest. Mrs. U. S. Brooks, second place contestant and president of the Charlotte branch, stands behind Mrs. Graham. Third place contestant Mrs. Lillian McLaurin of Reidsville stands at Mrs. Brook's left. Behind "Jackie" is Dr. Marguerite Adams, youth committee chairman of the North Carolina state conference.*

speaker at the June 5 meeting of the WILLOW GROVE branch. Attorney Williams's plea for NAACP life memberships resulted in five pledges: Mr. and Mrs. Max Berg, Bethayres, Helen Underhill, Mrs. Classie Jones, and Mrs. Lawrence Reeves.

Officials of the PHILADELPHIA branch sent a letter in July to Mayor Richardson Dilworth asking his Honor's intervention in recent local police killings and beatings.

The following items are "summer news flashes" from the Philadelphia branch:

The fair newspaper practices committee met on August 7, 1957, and discussed a meeting with those papers using the race label in crime stories. It likewise agreed to discuss the *Bulletin* editorial "Task for Negro Leaders." Persons attending the committee meeting were Harold Benton, Sarah Scott, E. Luther Cunningham, William Gray, Jr., and Charles A. Shorter. The committee plans to meet with the newspaper publishers at a future date.

The branch arranged community meetings in various sections of Philadelphia, and response to these meetings has been encouraging. They have been found an excellent means of "getting our story across." The meetings were scheduled by a committee of members for a selected street, and with the cooperation of the Police Department,

that street was closed to traffic during the meeting, which lasted from 8:00 until 9:00 p.m.

During the course of the meetings, the critical need for citizen participation in branch activities was stressed and those in attendance invited to help complete the NAACP job. The meetings were coordinated by Calvin D. Banks, field secretary, national office.

Interested citizens met in the local office in August and discussed the methods and means of getting qualified applicants for Girard College. Councilman Alexander, who spear-headed the court fight to gain admission of Negroes, was the main speaker.

Fourteen Negroes are now employed on the Franklin and Whitman bridges. Twelve are serving as toll-takers, one as a patrolman, and one as an electrician. The Philadelphia and Camden branches worked cooperatively with the officials of the Delaware River Port Authority for the past several years to bring this condition into being, according to executive secretary, Charles A. Shorter. Dr. U. S. Wiggins, president of Camden branch, and Dr. Harry J. Greene, president of Philadelphia branch, said this successful project means roughly $61,000 annual income for the Negroes of this area.

The Federation of Negro Women's Clubs took out $500 life membership with the local branch. Persons present at the presentation were Mesdames Senora Mae Grattan, Hattie Morrisey, Anna L. Jackson, Alberta J. Braxton and Viola P. Allen.

The Zion Baptist church, under the leadership of Rev. Leon Sullivan, gave the branch 405 memberships on July 21.

GUSTAVUS ALLEN *sits in thoughtful silence on his first day in the Central High School of Charlotte, North Carolina. Allen is one of the Negro students transferred from the Second Ward High School to the hitherto all-white Central High.*

College and School News

Frederick Burkhardt, new president of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES, has announced that principal offices of the organization have been transferred to New York City from Washington, D. C. The new headquarters are located in the Carnegie Endowment International Center, 345 East 46th Street, New York City 17.

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) is a federation of twenty-five national organizations devoted to the encouragement of humanistic studies. It parallels the Social Science Research Council and the National Academy of Science National Research Council.

■

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Cleveland, Ohio, was host August 12-15 to the 62nd convention of the NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, INC. Dr. Charles Mayo, of the Mayo Clinic, and Dr. Charles Puestow, of the University of Illinois, were two of the featured speakers. Theme of the four-day convention was "Newer Trends in Medicine."

■

Among the resolutions adopted during the 44th annual convention of the OLD DOMINION DENTAL SOCIETY, meeting at Bayshore, Virginia, was one renewing "with greater devotion our (the ODDS) support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its fight for justice and equality."

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY was host in July to the fourth annual Christian Youth Seminar sponsored by the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention. Theme of the meeting was "Christian Youth Facing World Problems."

The 50th annual convention of the Baptist Allied Bodies of Virginia was held at the university August 19-23. Theme of the jubilee session was "The Church Facing the Unfinished Task."

The American Baptist Home Mission Society, in the year of its 125th anniversary and in recognition of the advancement of higher education

among Negroes since 1865, is sponsoring an academic convocation at VUU November 12-13. Theme of the convocation is "An Educated People Moves Freedom Forward.

Listed among the convocation speakers are Dr. F. D. Patterson, president United Negro College Fund; W. Montague Cobb, school of medicine at Howard; Howard Thurman, dean of Marsh Chapel at Boston university; Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard university; Dr. Charles H. Thomas, dean of the graduate school, Howard; and presidents Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse and Alonzo G. Moron of Hampton.

Rose C. Thomas, a 1952 graduate of VUU, will go to Angola this fall to do educational work for the Methodist church.

■

Registrar Paul I. Clifford of the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY summer school reports a total of 1,505 students enrolled in the summer school. Graduate students outnumbered undergraduates, with 994 graduates and 425 undergraduates. There were 86 pupils in the Oglethorpe demonstration school. The school of education had 775 students, library service 83, social work 47, business administration 19, and the school of arts and sciences 494.

■

Over 350 farmers and farm families of the state of Virginia participated in the Farm and Home Conference held at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE in July. Chief conference speakers were Dr. Harry M. Love, head of the department of agricultural economics, Virginia Polytechnic Institute; Richard B. Martin, rector of Grace Episcopal church, Norfolk; and William D. Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer,* Raleigh, North Carolina.

VSC was host July 15-19 to 150 school lunch managers and workers from all parts of the state.

The appointment of Dr. John McNeile Hunter as dean of VSC has

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been announced by President Robert P. Daniel. He succeeds Dr. J. H. Johnston who retires as dean, but who will continue his responsibilities as vice-president and professor of history. Dr. Hunter joined the VSC faculty in 1925, coming from a teaching position at Prairie View state college, Texas.

The VSC chapter of the Future Business Leaders of America recently received recognition as a Gold Seal Chapter from the national organization of the FBLA.

Thomas C. Bridge, associate professor of music, recently received the Ed. D. degree from the University of Michigan.

Fall session of the college began on September 18. President Robert Daniel announces twenty-five new staff appointments at Petersburg and two for the Norfolk division.

VSC faculty members Mrs. Goldie F. Nicholas received an Ed. D. degree from the University of Virginia on August 17. Dr. F. Nathaniel Gatlin, head of the department of music, has been appointed an alumni fellow at Teachers college, Columbia university.

■

Speaking on minority housing at the eighth annual VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE ON HUMAN RELATIONS, Dr. Herman Long of Fisk pointed out that northern white respondents to a questionnaire on housing made stronger objection to integrated housing than they did to integrated schools and transportation.

■

President William R. Strassner of SHAW UNIVERSITY attended, with his wife, the Intellectual Life Conference held at Sewanee, Tennessee, August 9-18.

Clifton J. Anderson of Cape May, New Jersey, has been appointed as instructor in the department of physical education and as Shaw's head coach. Mr. Anderson holds a B. S. degree from Indiana univer-

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sity and he has done graduate study at Temple and the University of Pennsylvania.

■

James E. Nix has been appointed dean of men at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE to succeed the Rev. Leonard C. Anderson, who resigned last spring. Mr. Nix holds a B. S. degree from Morehouse and an M. A. in public administration from Syracuse university.

Sallie P. Ponzo of New York City, a 1930 Morgan graduate, has received appointment to the newly created position of Alumni Secretary at Morgan. She will serve as liaison officer and goodwill ambssaador between the college and the Morgan alumni association, as well as assist in the development of local alumni chapters.

■

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY is now offering a new nurse education program designed to enrich nursing school curricula in the natural and social sci-

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ences. Five topics are being presented, in all of which the Museum's extensive educational facilities—visual-aid, materials, films, and exhibit halls—will be widely utilized. The topics being offered are human biology, animals as disease carriers, the sceintific significance of invertebrates, the customs of primitive people, and health and disease in primitive societies.

■

Current national controversies over school segregation and Negro voting rights have an early historical parallel in two Michigan court cases: The People vs. William Dean, where a majority of the court declared that voting rights should be denied any person with more than one-sixteenth "Negro blood"; and, The People vs. Board of Education of Detroit, in which the court abandoned the rigid philosophy followed in the Dean decision.

Details of these two cases are contained in an article, "The Michigan Supreme Court Defines Negro Rights 1866-69," by Lewis G. Vander Velde, director of the Michigan Historical Collections and professor of history at THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, published in the summer issue of *The Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*.

■

The NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS has granted scholarship awards totalling $16,400 that has enabled 53 outstanding Negro high-school seniors to enter 45 interracial colleges this fall. The recipients come from 19 states, including 10 in the South, and the District of Columbia. There are an additional 12 Negro students entering non-segregated colleges who are receiving $4,000 in similar supplementary scholarships secured for them by NSSFNS from a cooperating foundation.

■

Charles L. Coakley, a former student at ST. JOHN'S SEMINARY (Collegeville, Minnesota), has become the first colored native of the Bahamas ordained to the Catholic priesthood.

■

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE has received a grant of $4,800 annually for five years from the Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation to support a program of scholarships for student research in the field of reproduction.

■

The tenth annual regional 4-H Club Camp was held at HOWARD UNIVERSITY August 11-19 in the auditorium of the Engineering and Architecture Building.

■

FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE announces several faculty changes this year. Dr. Lafayette Parker has been appointed acting dean of the college. Among the newcomers are William Best, music; Thomas Gavin, auto-mechanics and band; William Robinson, commercial education; Vance McBroom, carpentry; Charles Sanders, social science and acting dean of men; Alice Jackson, librarian; and Fannie Willis, secretary to the dean.

Book Reviews

GRADUAL DECAY

***The Town.* A novel by William Faulkner. New York: Random House, 1957. 371pp. $3.95.**

***Rage on the Bar.* A novel by Geoffrey Wagner. New York: The Noonday Press, Inc., 1957. 272pp. $3.50.**

The Town is the second of a trilogy of novels on the gradual decay of the genteel Southern tradition and the bumptious ascent of poor whites into political and commercial leadership. This rise and fall is symbolized by the Snopes family of rural Mississippi who move in on the town of Jefferson in Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County. In a series of anecdotes, the noted author tells how the Snopeses took the town over from the faded aristocrats who seem to be just waiting to be taken.

When the newly-arrived Flem Snopes turns his back as his wife romances the mayor, Snopes is summarily rewarded with the superintendency of the town power plant even though he had never seen a light bulb before he came to Jefferson. As his first act of office Snopes steals the brass safety valves off the plant boilers. His effort to involve two Negro employes in the theft—by setting one against the other—goes awry when they dump the evidence in the town watershed. Anxious not to offend the husband of the mayor's mistress, the townsfolk ignore the brassy taste in their water supply.

Before long, Jefferson is overrun with migrating Snopeses. There are I. O., Eck and Mink Snopes. There are Montgomery Ward Snopes and Wall Street Panic Snopes. There are the twins Vardaman and Bilbo Snopes, named after two of the state's most eloquent racists. Such a varied collection of liars and cheats could only be conceived by Faulkner. As a social satirist Faulkner has few equals, but his insistence on irrelevant asides and parenthetical explanations make *The Town* heavy going for all not addicted to Faulkner's peculiar kind of composition.

Rage On The Bar is much lighter fare. The novel is strongly reminiscent of 1955's "Something of Value," only Wagner substitutes the fictitious Zodudu for the Mau Mau and an island in the British West Indies for Kenya. If the evidence in this book and the Robert Ruark opus can be trusted, colonists everywhere are pretty much the same. They are all given to drowning their guilt with huge doses of liquor and sex.

On Wagner's island the only white who seems to care at all for the "wogs," as the Negro masses are called, is a newly-appointed aide-de-camp to the British military governor. But even the ADC's dedication to social justice is submerged by his lust for the pretty

grass widow of a member of the island's wealthiest family. After a wild skirmish between the white rulers and the Zodudu, the ADC regains his senses.

Wagner's novel is not nearly so pretentious as the Ruark book in which the author, a newspaper columnist, attemps to interpret the cultural history of an African tribe. Wagner stays pretty much on the white side of the racial fence. Although his treatment of colonial life appears to be more shadow than substance, Wagner tells the story in a style that is highly readable. *Rage On The Bar* thus came as a welcome relief to this reviewer after he had waded through the Faulkner morass on one of the hottest days of Summer.

LUTHER P. JACKSON, JR.

* * *

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***Preacher with a Plow.* By Samuel B. Coles. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957. XI+241pp. $3.50.**

An account of the remarkable achievements of an Alabama-born Negro who spent thirty years as an agricultural missionary in Angola, Portuguese West Africa. Rev. Coles did not confine his teaching to the Christian Gospel when he found that his charges were more in need of a knowledge of carpentry, ironmongery, pottery, cheesemaking, farming, medicine, and languages. So he taught them how to plow, to farm, to build houses, to invest their money, and to increase the variety of their crops. Ironically, Rev. Coles' opinion of Africans, those in Angola anyway, differs little from that of their European exploiters. He is never critical of Portuguese colonialism, and finds a good word even for forced labor. Rev. Coles died on March 9, 1957.

J. W. I.

***Democracy and the District of Columbia Public Schools: A Study of Recently Integrated Public Schools.* By Ellis O. Knox. Washington: Judd & Detweiler, Inc., 1957. VIII+131pp. $3.50.**

This book is the report of a study, initiated by the District of Columbia branch of the NAACP, on the effects of racial integration in the Washington public schools. Last fall, September 19-October 1, a sub-committee of the House District Committee attacked integration in the Washington schools through a series of public hearings. Being biased, the investigating congressmen tried to prove that inherent biological racial differences made it impossible to educate the Negro, and that his admission to the "white schools" was a calamity. No attempt was made to prove this thesis scientifically (because it has no scientific validity), but the emphasis on certain facts and the lurid nature of much of the testimony

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added up to a racial smear of Washington Negroes.

Dr. Knox demolishes this untenable thesis in eight chapters: "The Era of Segregation," "From Segregation to Integration," "Intelligence and Achievement Differences," "Societal Influences in D.C.," "Administrators' and Teachers' Questionnaire Responses," "Superintendents' Questionnaire Responses," "Community Surveys and Conferences," and "The Quest for Democracy." He concludes that there is no evidence that Negro pupils *per se* lower the level of academic work in integrated classes.

***Against the Tyrant: The Tradition and Theory of Tyrannicide.* By Oscar Jászi and John D. Lewis. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957. IX+288pp. $5.00.**

This book contains two parts, one on the development of the theory of tyrannicide to 1660, by Dr. John Lewis; the other on the use and abuse of tyrannicide, by Dr. Oscar Jászi. Classically, the tyrant was an extra-legal ruler who was by definition an enemy of "the common good." So this raised the question of the legitimacy of tyrannicide and the rights of the individual under tyrannical government. "The concept of tyranny," Dr. Lewis says, "was fundamentally an ethical rather than a merely legal concept. . . . The traditional image of the tyrant was often, though by no means always, associated with the image of the tyrannicide: a complex of statements and stories that presented in a favorable light the man who put an end to tyranny by killing the tyrant."

Dr. Jászi then discusses the erosion of the formal theory of tyrannicide after the middle of the seventeenth century. "As the tyrant came to be conceived as a governing class, as a system of institutions, or as an impersonal social force, tyrannicide seemed a superficial or irrelevant remedy, and attention shifted to the fundamental remaking of institutions as the preventive of unjust and arbitrary power." The real essence of tyrannical rule is that it is a rule based on corruption. In the old tyranny it was a rule based on the rule of one man and his clique; in the new, a rule based on a totalitarian synthesis. "Both disregarded the interest of the people and the moral dignity and natural rights of the individual. . . . Both regarded men only as instruments for their own selfish ends. This analogy in the moral and social situation explains the similarity in methods between the old and new tyrannies."

Dr. Jászi likewise points out the differences between tyrannicide and other types of political murder, of which he lists seven. He is likewise pessimistic about our "postwar world of fear and suspicion, of intensified nationalism and intensified racial antipathies. . . . a world of economic instability . . . a world in which people are being drilled by collectivism in habits of accepting the state as the supreme director of individuals and the distributor of favors and punishments."

"Thus the crucial point of our problem," he adds, "will remain the maintenance of a sufficient number of free men, fortified in their conviction that human dignity and the moral self-determination of the individual are superior to the aims of the state."

JAMES W. IVY

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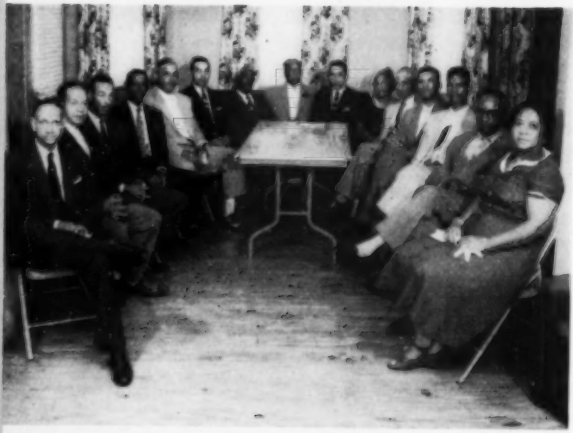
Mr. and Mrs. Max Berg of the Willow Grove, Pa., branch make an initial payment on their NAACP life payment.



An executive meeting of the Beaumount, Texas branch. This is the "brain trust" of the Beaumont branch.

Irving Barnes of Jamaica, New York, contributes part of his winnings on the Tic-Tac-Dough television program to the NAACP in the form of a life membership. Marion Stewart of the national office accepts his check.

The Rose Morgan House of Beauty, New York City, donates proceeds of its business day, $730.61, to the NAACP fight for freedom fund. Mrs. Rose Morgan Louis accepts payment from a customer.
Cecil Layne

Local 310 of the IUE-AFL-CIO Electrical Worker's Union takes out an NAACP life membership in the Elmira, New York, branch. Union representative Neal Eastman (2nd from L) presents check to branch president Rev. Latta Thomas.
Geo. Horsey

Louis Mason, Jr., membership chairman Pittsburgh, Pa., branch presents trophies to "top" solicitors, Irvin Beaufford, Matthew Moore and Theodore Jones, in the 1957 membership campaign.
Harris

Jim Hewlett (center), retired letter carrier of Roxbury, Mass., gives $500 check for NAACP life membership to Kenneth Guscott of the Boston branch. Mr. Hewlett's life membership was given in memory of his mother, Mrs. Eleanor Hewlett. At left, vice-president Frank Morris of Boston branch.

Samuel Walker

William Pollard (L), president of Joint Council of Dining Car Employees of the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, AFL-CIO, presents checks representing NAACP life membership payments to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins.

Edward Bailey

Lloyd E. Dickens (L), Democratic leader of New York's 11th assembly district, presents check for a ticket to the NAACP's National $100 a Couple Dinner to be held at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, on November 22, to New York City branch president Russell Crawford.

A. Hansen

LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page 500*)

the equality of Man before God is so fundamental both to the Christian faith and to the ideals of modern democracy that when people become aware of some new application or infringement of it they are disturbed. Some rebel, others defend their faith. But the debate is not academic.

We have got to face the fact that the majority of those who have arrived are here to stay for some years. No doubt many are disappointed with what they have found here, and when asked, say they would like to return home; but the difference between expressing such an opinion and carrying it out is very great. . . .

THE TEXAS APPEAL

The NAACP wishes to thank those who so generously responded to "The Texas Appeal" of June, 1957. Your contributions will help us in our fight against special laws aimed at crippling or outlawing the NAACP.

CALYPSO & CALYPSONIANS

(*Continued from page 482*)

assumed by Raymond Quevedo, who was a member of the Legislative Council of Trinidad), the Mighty Spoiler, the wittiest of them all; the Mighty Sparrow, adjudged the champion calypsonian for 1956 and 1957, the Growling Tiger, the Mighty Panther, the Mighty Zebra, Dictator, and Lord Cristo.

The most fascinating, nay fabulous, thing about the Trinidad calypsonian is his uncanny ability to compose calypsoes extemporaneously. They are the *improvisatori* of the Caribbean. This quality more than any other has made the Trinidad calypso artist unique in the calypso-singing Caribbean, and has helped Trinidad to maintain, with pride through the centuries, her sobriquet of "Land of Calypso."

NEGRO MIDDLE CLASS

(*Continued from page 469*)

somewhat contradictory and not altogether clear on the matter, minimizes the emphasis on economic accumulation in the Negro schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and consequently over-dramatizes the transition in Negro education in the 1920's as being "From the Making of Men to the Making of Money-Makers."

5. See Howard H. Bell, *A Survey of the Negro Convention Movement, 1830-1861*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1953. *Passim.*
6. See August Meier. "The Rise of Industrial Education in Negro Schools," *Midwest Journal,* VIII, 1 (Spring 1955), pp. 21-44; and VII, 3 (Fall 1955), pp. 241-266.
7. Robert Bone. "A History of the Negro Novel from the Civil War to World War II." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1954. *Passim.*
8. See also Kenneth Clark. *Prejudice and Your Child* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), Ch. 3.

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